

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00

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OMB-01 PA-01 PM-03 PRS-01 SAJ-01 SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4756

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION NATO

USMISSION USBERLIN

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 GENEVA 5737

FOR EUR/RPM

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, PFOR, XG

SUBJECT: CSCE: COMPLETE TEXT OF FINAL ACT

1. MARATHON NEGOTIATIONS LASTING INTO THE EARLY MORNING OF JULY 19 LED TO REMOVAL OF LAST POINTS OF CONTENTION AND APPROVAL OF TEXT FOR FINAL ACT AND ASSOCIATED DOCUMENTS. DUE TO THE SHORTNESS OF TIME FINAL ACT WAS APPROVED BY THE COORDINATING COMMITTEE (CC) EARLY IN THE MORNING OF JULY 19 IN ITS FRENCH VERSION, WHICH IS THE ORIGINAL. PRELIMINARY TRANSLATIONS WERE ALSO COMPLETED, SUBJECT TO REVIEW. THIS MESSAGE TRANSMITS THE PRELIMINARY SECRETARIAT ENGLISH LANGUAGE VERSION OF THE FINAL ACT AND REPORTS ASSOCIATED STATEMENTS AND DOCUMENTS, WHICH INCLUDE:

(A) THE LETTER TO THE UN SECRETARY GENERAL ON NON-REGISTERABILITY OF THE FINAL ACT UNDER ARTICLE 102 OF
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THE UN CHARTER.

(B) STATEMENT FOR THE CC JOURNAL NOTING CC
APPROVAL OF THE PROPOSED LETTER V THE UN
SECRETARY GENERAL.

(C) STATEMENT BY THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY AND
NOTE FOR THE JOURNAL ON NOTIFICATION OF FUNCTION(S)
OF HIGH PARTICIPANTS FOR LISTING IN FINAL ACT. (THIS
IS THE DEVICE WHICH WAS FOUND TO SOLVE THE EC
"DOUBLE SIGNATURE" PROBLEM.)

(D) REQUEST BY MALTESE AMBASSADOR THAT GOVERNMENT OF FINLAND ALSO TRANSMIT TEXTS OF FINAL ACT TO NON-PARTICIPATING MEDITERRANEAN STATES WHOSE REPRESENTATIVES ADDRESSED SECOND STAGE OF CONFERENCE.

2. POINT OF CONTENTION UNTIL VERY END WAS SOVIET DEMAND TO INSERT CONCEPT OF "IRREVERSIBILITY OF DETENTE" SOMEWHERE IN FINAL ACT. SEVERAL CHANGES IN STRUCTURE MADE POSSIBLE A COMBINATION OF THE INTRODUCTORY POLITICAL PARAGRAPH AND THE FRG-SPONSORED "EUROPE CLAUSE", THUS REMOVING PROBLEM OF SOVIET WISH FOR REFERENCE TO DETENTE IN THIS PARAGRAPH ALSO. AS EVENING OF JULY 18 WORE ON, IT BECAME CLEAR THAT OPPOSITION AMONG EC-9 AND NEUTRAL PARTICIPANTS TO INCLUSION OF CONCEPT OF IRREVERSIBILITY WAS GROWING. AFTER ONE LAST EFFORT, SOVIET REP MENDELEVICH PROPOSED SUBSTITUTION OF FORMULATION "MAKE CONTINUING AND LASTING" FOR IRREVERSIBILITY. OTHER PARTICIPANTS ACCEPTED THE PROPOSAL IMMEDIATELY AND FINAL ACT WAS COMPLETED. DOCUMENT WAS PRESENTED TO CC AS SOON AS TRANSLATIONS WERE COMPLETED. SOLUTION OF THIS PROBLEM AND THE REMAINING ISSUES CONCERNING CBM'S MADE POSSIBLE FINAL AGREEMENT ON JULY 30 DATE FOR STAGE III.

3. FINAL ACT: PRELIMINARY SECRETARIAT ENGLISH LANGUAGE TRANSLATION OF FINAL ACT WHICH WILL BE IMPROVED BY ENGLISH SPEAKING DELEGATIONS, IS AS FOLLOWS: BEGIN TEXT:

FINAL ACT

(1) THE CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND CO-OPERATION IN EUROPE,
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WHICH OPENED AT HELSINKI ON 3RD JULY 1973 AND CONTINUED AT GENEVA FROM 18TH SEPTEMBER 1973 TO . . . 1975, WAS CONCLUDED AT HELSINKI ON . . . 1975 BY THE HIGH REPRESENTATIVES OF AUSTRIA, BELGIUM, BULGARIA, CANADA, CYPRUS, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, DENMARK, FINLAND, FRANCE, GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC, FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY, GREECE, HOLY SEE, HUNGARY, ICELAND, IRELAND, ITALY, LIECHTENSTEIN, LUXEMBOURG, MALTA, MONACO, NETHERLANDS, NORWAY, POLAND, PORTUGAL, ROMANIA, SAN MARINO, SPAIN, SWEDEN,

SWITZERLAND, TURKEY, UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS,
UNITED KINGDOM, UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND YUGOSLAVIA.

DURING THE OPENING AND CLOSING STAGES OF THE CONFERENCE
THE PARTICIPANTS WERE ADDRESSED BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF
THE UNITED NATIONS AS THEIR GUEST OF HONOUR. THE DIRECTOR-
GENERAL OF UNESCO AND THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY OF THE UNITED
NATIONS ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR EUROPE GAVE ADDRESSES DURING
THE CONFERENCE'S SECOND STAGE.

DURING THE MEETINGS OF THE SECOND STAGE OF THE
CONFERENCE, CONTRIBUTIONS WERE RECEIVED AND STATEMENTS
HEARD FROM THE FOLLOWING NON-PARTICIPATING STATES ON
VARIOUS AGENDA ITEMS:

THE DEMOCRATIC AND POPULAR REPUBLIC OF ALGERIA,
THE ARAB REPUBLIC OF EGYPT, ISRAEL, THE KINGDOM OF
MOROCCO, THE SYRIAN ARAB REPUBLIC, TUNISIA.

(2) ANIMATED BY A POLITICAL WILL, IN THE INTEREST OF
PEOPLES, TO IMPROVE AND INTENSIFY THEIR RELATIONS, TO CON-
TRIBUTE IN EUROPE, TOWARDS PEACE, SECURITY, JUSTICE AND
CO-OPERATION AS WELL AS TO RAPPROCHEMENT AMONG THEMSELVES
AND WITH THE OTHER STATES IN THE WORLD.

DETERMINED IN CONSEQUENCE TO GIVE FULL EFFECT TO THE
RESULTS OF THE CONFERENCE AND ENSURE THE BENEFITS DERIVING
FROM THOSE RESULTS AMONG THEIR STATES AND THROUGHOUT EUROPE
AND THUS TO BROADEN, DEEPEN AND AMKE CONTINUING AND LASTING
THE PROCESS OF DETENTE,

THE HIGH REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PARTICIPATING STATES
HAVE SOLEMNLY ADOPTED THE FOLLOWING:
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QUESTIONS RELATING TO SECURITY IN EUROPE

SUB-TITLES (FULL BASKET I TEXT TO BE INSERTED.)

CO-OPERATION IN THE FIELDS OF ECONOMICS,
OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY AND OF THE ENVIRONMENT

SUB-TITLES (FULL BASKET II TEXT TO BE INSERTED.)

QUESTIONS RELATING TO SECURITY

AND CO-OPERATION IN THE MEDITERRANEAN

(FULL MEDITERRANEAN DOCUMENT TO BE INSERTED.)

CO-OPERATION IN HUMANITARIAN AND OTHER FIELDS

SUB-TITLES (FULL BASKET III TEXT TO BE INSERTED)

FOLLOW-UP TO THE CONFERENCE (FULL FOLLOW-UP TEXT TO BE INSERTED.)

(3) THE ORIGINAL OF THIS FINAL ACT, DRAWN UP IN ENGLISH, FRENCH, GERMAN, ITALIAN, RUSSIAN AND SPANISH WILL BE TRANSMITTED TO THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF FINLAND, WHICH WILL RETAIN IT IN ITS ARCHIVES. EACH OF THE PARTICIPATING STATES WILL RECEIVE FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF FINLAND A TRUE COPY OF THIS FINAL ACT.

(4) THE TEXT OF THIS FINAL ACT WILL BE PUBLISHED IN EACH PARTICIPATING STATE, WHICH WILL DISSEMINATE IT AND MAKE IT KNOWN AS WIDELY AS POSSIBLE.

(5) THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF FINLAND IS REQUESTED TO TRANSMIT TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS THE TEXT OF THIS FINAL ACT, WHICH IS NOT ELIGIBLE FOR REGISTRATION UNDER ARTICLE 102 OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS, WITH A VIEW TO ITS CIRCULATION AMONG ALL MEMBERS OF THE ORGANIZATION AS AN OFFICIAL DOCUMENT OF THE UNITED NATIONS.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF FINLAND IS ALSO
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REQUESTED TO TRANSMIT THE TEXT OF THIS FINAL ACT TO THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL OF UNESCO AND TO THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY OF THE UNITED NATIONS ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR EUROPE.

(6) WHEREFORE, THE UNDERSIGNED HIGH REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PARTICIPATING STATES, CONSCIOUS OF THE HIGH POLITICAL IMPORTANCE THEY ATTACH TO THE RESULTS OF THE CONFERENCE, AND DECLARING THEIR DETERMINATION TO ACT IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PROVISIONS CONTAINED IN THE ABOVE TEXTS, HAVE SUBSCRIBED THEIR SIGNATURES BELOW:

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INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00

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OMB-01 PA-01 PM-03 PRS-01 SAJ-01 SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4757

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION NATO

USMISSION BERLIN

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

USMISSION USUN NY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 GENEVA 5737

DEPT FOR EUR/RPM

DONE AT HELSINKI, ON ... 1975 ETC. IN THE NAME OF:

SIGNATURES:

END TEXT.

4. LETTER TO UN SECRETARY GENERAL: TEXT OF LETTER TO UN
SECRETARY GENERAL WAS READ OUT BY FINNISH REP, WHO NOTED
THAT HIS GOVERNMENT INTENDED TO SEND THE LETTER IN ENGLISH.
HE READ THE TEXT IN ENGLISH TO THE CC AND ASKED THAT IT BE
ENTERED INTO THE JOURNAL IN THE SIX WORKING LANGUAGES. THE

ROMANIAN AMBASSADOR FOLLOWED BY REQUESTING THE CHAIRMAN TO
NOTE IN THE JOURNAL THAT THE CC AGREED TO THE TEXT OF THE
LETTER. CONSENSUS WAS OBTAINED ON THIS PROPOSAL AND CC APPROVAL
WAS NOTED. TSBT OF THE LETTER IS AS FOLLOWS: BEGIN TEXT.

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SIR,

I HAVE THE HONOUR TO INFORM YOU THAT THE HIGH REPRESENTATIVES OF THE STATES PARTICIPATING IN THE CONFERENCE ON

SECURITY AND CO-OPERATION IN EUROPE HAVE REQUESTED THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF FINLAND TO TRANSMIT TO YOU THE TEXT OF THE FINAL ACT OF THE CONFERENCE SIGNED AT HELSINKI ON

I HAVE ALSO BEEN ASKED TO REQUEST YOU, MR. SECRETARY GENERAL TO ARRANGE FOR THE CIRCULATION OF THIS FINAL ACT TO MEMBER STATES OF THE UNITED NATIONS, AND TO DRAW YOUR ATTENTION TO THE FACT THAT THIS FINAL ACT IS NOT ELIGIBLE, IN WHOLE OR IN PART, FOR REGISTRATION WITH THE SECRETARIAT UNDER ARTICLE 102 OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS; AS WOULD BE THE CASE WERE IT A MATTER OF A TREATY OR INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT, UNDER THE AFORESAID ARTICLE.

ACCEPT, SIR, THE ASSURANCE OF MY HIGHEST CONSIDERATION.

END TEXT.

5. NOTIFICATION OF TITLE(S): ALTHOUGH SOVIETS REFUSED TO GIVE POSITIVE APPROVAL OF EC WISH TO HAVE TITLE OF ITALIAN PRIME MINISTER AS PRINTED IN FINAL ACT REFLECT HIS EC FUNCTION, THEY DID AGREE THAT THEY WOULD NOT OBJECT IF THE EC TITLE ALSO FOUND ITS WAY INTO THE DOCUMENT. IN ORDER TO GIVE EC PARTICIPANTS FIRM ASSURANCE THAT THE EC FUNCTION WOULD BE INCLUDED IN THE FINAL ACT, IT WAS REQUESTED THAT THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY OF STAGE II WOULD REQUEST REPRESENTATIVES AT THE CC TO INFORM THEIR GOVERNMENTS OF THE NEED TO TRANSMIT TO THE SECRETARIAT THE NAMES AND FUNCTIONS OF HIGH REPRESENTATIVES FOR INCLUSION IN THE DOCUMENT. THE SOVIETS ALSO AGREED THAT THE CC CHAIRMAN SHOULD ASK THE CC TO TAKE NOTE OF THIS STATEMENT AND THAT TAKING NOTE SHOULD BE RECORDED IN THE JOURNAL. THESE TWO STATEMENTS WERE MADE AT CC MEETING DIRECTLY AFTER APPROVAL OF FINAL ACT AS FOLLOWS: BEGIN TEXT.

STATEMENT BY EXECUTIVE:
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"MR. PRESIDENT: BEFORE THE COMMITTEE PROCEEDS TO REGISTER THE TEXT OF THE DRAFT FINAL ACT WHICH HAS JUST BEEN INTRODUCED, I WISH TO CALL YOUR ATTENTION TO ONE RESPECT IN WHICH THE DOCUMENT IS NOT YET IN THE FORM IN WHICH IT WILL HAVE TO APPEAR FOR THE SIGNATURE OF THE HIGH REPRESENTATIVES AT HELSINKI. AT THE BOTTOM OF THE TEXT OF THE FINAL ACT, THE SECRETARIAT WILL HAVE TO PRINT OR TYPE THE NAMES OF THE PARTICIPATING STATES, IN THE FRENCH ALPHABETICAL ORDER, AND THE NAMES OF FUNCTIONS OF THEIR HIGH REPRESENTATIVES IN THE CASE WHERE ANY PARTICIPATING STATES WISH THESE TO BE INSERTED BEFORE THE DOCUMENT IS SIGNED. IN VIEW OF THIS POSSIBILITY, IT WILL BE NECESSARY, FOR

THE STATES WHICH SO WISH, TO INFORM THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
BY THE 28TH OF JULY OF THE NAMES AND FUNCTIONS OF THEIR HIGH
REPRESENTATIVES.

OF COURSE, NO STATE WOULD BE OBLIGED TO PROVIDE THIS
INFORMATION IF IT DOES NOT WISH TO DO SO."

END TEXT.

BEGIN TEXT.

JOURNAL DECISION:

"THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY MADE A STATEMENT IN WHICH
HE REQUESTED PARTICIPATING STATES WHICH WISHED TO DO SO
TO NOTIFY HIM BY THE 28TH OF JULY OF THE NAMES AND
FUNCTIONS OF THEIR HIGH REPRESENTATIVES, SO THAT THESE
COULD BE PRINTED OR TYPED IN THE FINAL ACT TO BE SIGNED
AT HELSINKI.

THE COORDINATING COMMITTEE TOOK NOTE."

END TEXT.

6. DEPARTMENT SHOULD NOTE LAST PARAGRAPH OF EXECUTIVE
SECRETARY'S STATEMENT WHICH PROVIDES THAT THE INFORMATION
NEED NOT BE PROVIDED IF A STATE DOES NOT WISH TO DO SO.
THIS PASSAGE WAS INCLUDED TO COVER CASE OF SWITZERLAND AND
PERHAPS OTHERS WHO WOULD PREFER TO HAVE NOT TITLE INSCRIBED.
IT ALSO MEANS, HOWEVER, THAT IF INFORMATION IS NOT PROVIDED
BY COUNTRIES WISHING TO HAVE TITLE INCLUDED, THERE WILL BE
NO TITLE IN FINAL ACT. DELEGATION RECOMMENDS THAT IT BE
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PROVIDED WITH DESIRED WORDING FOR TITLE OF US PRESIDENT AS
SOON AS POSSIBLE. (FULLER EXPLANATION FOLLOWS SEPTEL)

7. TRANSMISSION TO MEDITERRANEAN STATES: AT INFORMAL
WORKING GROUP MEETING ON JULY 18, MALTESE REP SUGGESTED THAT
SINCE CONTRIBUTIONS OF NON-PARTICIPATING MEDITERRANEAN STATES
WERE RECORDED OFFICIALLY IN FINAL ACT, THE GOVERNMENT OF
FINLAND SHOULD ALSO BE REQUESTED TO TRANSMIT COPIES TO THEM.
MALTESE REP ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THESE STATES COULD GET COPIES
WHEN THEY WERE CIRCULATED BY THE UN, BUT ARGUED THAT SINCE
THEY HAD SENT REPRESENTATIVES TO STAGE II THEY SHOULD
RECEIVE SOMEWHAT BETTER TREATMENT.

8. OTHER PARTICIPANTS REFUSED TO INCLUDE SUCH A REQUEST
TO FINLAND IN THE FINAL ACT ITSELF, BUT DID AGREE THAT THE
MALTESE REP COULD RAISE HIS REQUEST AT THE CC MEETING AND
THAT IF FINNISH AMBASSADOR AGREED, HIS AGREEMENT TO
THAVE THE TEXTS TRANSMITTED COULD BE ENTERED INTO THE JOURNAL.
THIS PROCEDURE WAS FOLLOWED AND NOTED IN THE JOURNAL AT THE

CC MEETING ON JULY 18, DALE

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